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KAUŚĀMBĪ IN ANCIENT LITERATURE

BY

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PREFACE

At the suggestion of my friends, Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, and the late lamented Mr. N. G. Majumdar, this monograph has been prepared in a systematic way, mainly based on literary sources and itineraries of the Chinese pilgrims. I trust this account of Kauśāmbī will be found interesting and useful by those for whom it is intended. A map of Kauśāmbī has been specially prepared for the convenience of the readers.

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1st February 1939.

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KAUŚĀMBĪ IN ANCIENT LITERATURE

1. ANTIQUITY AND ORIGIN OF THE NAME

The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (XII. 2. 2. 13) mentions Proti Kausurubindi as a pupil undergoing *brahmacharyā* under Uddālaka Āruṇi of the Upanishadic fame and bearing the local epithet of Kauśāmbeya[1] which the commentator Harisvāmin explains as meaning 'a native of Kauśāmbī'.[2] The *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa* (I. 4. 24) contains the same reference with this slight difference that in it the name of the pupil is given as Predi Kausurabindu. The correctness of Harisvāmin's interpretation of *Kauśāmbeya* as signifying 'a native of Kauśāmbī' is borne out by a Prākṛit form, *Kosaṁbeyaka*, of the same local epithet occurring in one of the Barhut inscriptions.[3] The Barhut epithet was employed to mean nothing but 'a person from Kauśāmbī'.

Thus from the employment of *Kauśāmbeya* as a local epithet of a person in the *Śatapatha* and *Gopatha Brāhmaṇas* it may be safely inferred that the name of Kauśāmbī was prevalent as early as the age of Brāhmaṇa literature. We need not take here into our consideration the text of the Pāli canon that abounds in references to Kauśāmbī as a well-known city in Northern India,—as the capital of the Vatsa country, the kingdom of the Vatsa king, Udayana. The high antiquity of Kauśāmbī as a royal city is equally proved by traditions not only in the two great Sanskrit Epics and the Purāṇas but also in the *Vaṁsatthappakāsinī* which is a commentary on the *Mahāvaṁsa*. The *Mahābhārata*[4] attributes the foundation of the city of Kauśāmbī to Prince Kuśāmba who was the third son of the Chedi king, Uparichara Vasu. In the Rāmāyaṇa story, however, Prince Kuśāmba is described as the eldest son of an ancient king named Kuśa, who had four sons by his queen Vaidarbhī, the youngest of them being Vasu.[5] According to *Matsya Purāṇa*, when Hastināpura was swept away by flood in the Ganges, the Kuru or Bhārata king Nichakshu, 'who was fifth in descent from Parikshit, the grandson of Arjuna, abandoned Hastināpura and dwelt in Kauśāmbī.'[6] There is, however, no suggestion made in the Purāṇa that Nichakshu himself was the founder of the city.

The author of the *Vaṃsatthappakāsinī* tells us that various dynasties of kings of the solar clan from Mahāsammata to Śuddhodana, father of Gautama,

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[1] The *Kusurubinda Auddālaki* of the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* (VII. 2. 2. 1) appears to be only an abbreviated form of the name of Proti Kausurubindi, a pupil of Uddālaka Āruṇi.

[2] Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, (3rd Ed.), p. 92.

[3] Barua and Sinha, *Barhut Inscriptions*, p. 12: *Kosa[ṁ]beyakaya bhikuniya Venuvagāmiyāya Dhamārakhitāyā dānam.*

[4] *Ādiparva* (Baṅgavāsī Ed.), Ch. 63, pp. 69-71.

[5] *Rāmāyaṇa* (Bombay Ed.), I, 32. 1-6.

[6] Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India* (3rd Ed.), p. 46.

the Buddha, reigned severally in succession in these nineteen cities[1]: *Kusāvatī, Ayujjhapura, Bārāṇasī, Kapilapura (i.e., Kapilavatthu), Hatthipura (i.e., Hastināpura), Ekachakkhu, Vajiravutti, Madhurā (i.e., Mathurā), Ariṭṭhapura, Indapattha (i.e., Indraprastha), Kosambī (i.e., Kauśāmbī), Kaṇṇagochchha, Roja, Champā, Mithilā, Rājagaha, Takkasīlā, Kusinārā* and *Tāmalitti*. The suggestion throughout is that the city used as capital was founded by its originator, the first king of the family. As regards Kauśāmbī we are definitely informed that fourteen kings headed by Baladatta reigned in it. All of them were pre-Ikshāku kings of the solar clan.[2]

The Pāli tradition in the Mahāvamsa commentary differs from those in the two *Epics* in two respects: (1) that Baladatta is mentioned as its founder and first king, and (2) that the cities are said to have been founded successively, while both the *Epics* mention Prince Kuśāmba as the founder of the city, and speak of four or five cities as coming into existence at the same time. According to the *Rāmāyaṇa* story, for instance, the four cities: Kauśāmbī, Mahodaya, Dharmāraṇya, and Girivraja (*i.e.*, Rājagṛiha)—were severally founded at the same time by the four sons of king Kuśa.

All the three traditions agree in this respect that they attribute the foundation of the city to a prince who was its first king. The Epic traditions agree all the more in suggesting that Kauśāmbī was named after Kuśāmba, its founder-king.

It was evidently keeping in view of the epic traditions of the foundation of Kauśāmbī by Prince Kuśāmba that the Kuśika suggested the following derivation of the name of Kauśāmbī: Kuśāmbena nivṛittā Kauśāmbī nagarī, "the city of Kauśāmbī was so named because it was laid out by Kuśāmba". The Kuśika introduced this derivation only by way of an illustration of Pāṇini's Rule 4-2-69—*tena nivṛittam*.

The *Paramatthajotikā* (*Suttanipāta* Commy.) suggests a different derivation of the name of Kauśāmbī, obviously by the application of Pāṇini's Rule 5-2-69 *tesya nivāsaḥ*. According to the Pāli commentary, Kauśāmbī was so named because it was originally the dwelling place of Kosamba the sage.[3] Thus the Pāli commentatorial tradition differs from the epic in that it seeks to suggest that Kauśāmbī was at first a hermitage or religious settlement, around which the city grew up subsequently.[4]

Buddhaghosha says that the city came to be called Kosambī because in founding it, the *Kosamba* trees were uprooted here and there, while according to some, it was so named because it was built not far from the hermitage of a ṛishi named Kusumba.[5]

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[1] *Vaṃsatthappakāsinī*, I, p. 130: *Imāni ekūnavīsatinagarāni: tesu yathāraham visum visum rajjam kamato anusāsisum.*

[2] *Vaṃsatthappakāsinī*, I, pp. 128, 130.

[3] *Paramatthajotikā*, Vol. II, p. 300:

Sāvatthiyan ti evam nāmake nagare, taṃ kira Savatthassa nāma isino nivāsaṭṭhānam ahosi tasmā, yathā Kusambassa-nivāso Kosambī, Kākandassa Kākandi, evam itthilingavasena Sāvatthī ti vuchchati.

[4] Law, *Śrāvastī in Indian Literature*, p. 6.

[5] *Papañcha-sūdanī*, Pt. II, pp. 389-390; Kosambiyan *ti evaṃ-nāmake nagare. Tassa kira nagarassa ārāmapokkharaṇi-ādisu tesu tesu ṭhānesu Kosamba-rukkhā va ussannā ahesuṃ, tasmā Kosambī ti sankham agamāsi, Kusumbassa nāma isino assamato avidūre māpitattā ti, pi eke.*

The Jaina tradition in the *Vividhatīrthakalpa* seems to suggest a third derivation accounting for the origin of the name of Kauśāmbī. According to this derivation, Kauśāmbī came to be known as such because it abounded in huge and shady *Kosamba* trees.[1]

2. GENERAL DESCRIPTION AND TOPOGRAPHY

Indian literature consistently refers to Kauśāmbī as a royal city, which was the capital of a kingdom, while in the *Si-yu-ki* of Hiuen Tsang, Kauśāmbī (*Kiao-shang-mi*) is represented rather as a country with its capital which was 'evidently named Kauśāmbī'.[2] The Chinese pilgrim must have followed the later usage which went to represent Kauśāmbī as a political unit instead of as a mere city. For instance, in the inscription of Yaśapāla, dated Saṃvat 1093 (=A.D. 1037), Kauśāmbī is mentioned as *Kosambamaṇḍala*.[3] According to Hiuen Tsang, the country or kingdom of Kauśāmbī was above 6,000 *li* (1,200 miles), and its capital (*i.e.*, the city of Kauśāmbī) was above 30 *li* (6 miles) in circuit.[4]

We have seen that according to one tradition, the city of Kauśāmbī was founded by prince Kuśāmba, the third son of the Chedi king Uparichara Vasu, while according to another tradition, it was founded by prince Kuśāmba, the eldest son of the righteous king Kuśa of yore. In the Vishṇu Purāṇa (IV. 19) Uparichara Vasu figures as a Kaurava, *i.e.*, a scion of the family of the Kurus. The epic tradition of foundation of the city by prince Kuśāmba its first king, finds its echo in the Pāli Jātaka story relating that in the past king Kosambika reigned in Kosambī in the territory of the Vachchhas.[5]

We have also seen that the Pāli scholiasts agree in representing Kosam as a royal city, which grew up around the abode of a sage named Kosamba. It does not, therefore, come as a surprise to us when Aśvaghosha speaks of the *āśrama* or hermitage of Kuśāmba with reference to the city of Kauśāmbī.[6]

According to the Jaina description, Kauśāmbī was a flourishing city, which abounded in large-sized Kosamba trees providing cool shade.

Kauśāmbī is described in the *Trikaṇḍaśesha* (2. 1. 14) as *Vatsa-paṭṭana*, "the capital of Vatsa".[7] In the Buddhist literature too, Kauśāmbī is described as "the capital of the Vatsa (in Chinese *Tu-tzu*, Calf) country."[8] The *Kathāsaritsāgara* places the great city called Kauśāmbī at the centre of the Vatsa country of which it was the capital.[9] The Buddhist legend of Bakkula unmistakably proves that Kauśāmbī was situated on the bank of the Yamunā. It also suggests that waters of the Yamunā also flowed through the Ganges

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[1] *Vividhatīrthakalpa*, p. 23 :

[2] "*Yattha siṇiddhachchhāyā Kosambataruṇo mahāpamāṇā dīsaṃti.*"

[3] Watters, Yuan Chwang, I, pp. 365-66.

[4] The inscription first published by Colebrook in Asiatic Researches, Vol. IX, pp. 440-41 ; by Prinsep in J. A. S. B., Vol. V, p. 731 ; by Cunningham in A. S. I. R., Vol. I, pp. 302-303 ; and Sahni and Chanda in J. R. A. S., Vol. IV, 1927, Oct. Cunningham's interpretation of Kosambamaṇḍala as a kingdom is challenged by Ghosh in his Early History, p. 96, f. n. 17.

[5] Watters, Yuan Chwang, I, pp. 365-66.

[6] Fausböll, *Jātaka*, IV., pp. 28 foll.

[7] *Saundarananda-kāvya*, ed. Johnston, Canto I, V. 58.

[8] Ghosh, *Early History of Kauśāmbī*, Introd., p. xvii.

[9] Watters, Yuan Chwang, I, p. 368.

to make it possible for a fish to carry to Benares a child that fell into the Yamunā near Kauśāmbī.[1] The Vividhatīrthakalpa (p. 23) definitely states that the forests of Kauśāmbī were reached by the flow of waters of the Kāliṃdī (*i.e.*, Yamunā).[2]

According to the description in the *Suttanipāta* of a journey of Bāvarī's disciples from Patiṭṭhāna to Rājagaha, Kauśāmbī was one of the halting places on the same high road which led the travellers to Sāketa[3] and Śrāvastī. Vana (Tumbavana[4] or Vana-Sāvatthī, according to commentary) was the halting station which stood next to Kauśāmbī in walking towards Vidisā from Kauśāmbī.[5] According to *Rathavinīta-Sutta* in the *Majjhima Nikāya*, Sāketa could be reached from Sāvatthī by a relay-drive of seven chariots.[6] The *Mahāparinibbāṇa-Suttanta* mentions Kosambī as one of the six principal cities of Northern India in Buddha's time, where many wealthy nobles, Brahmins and traders having strong faith in the Tathāgata lived. It was certainly by the above high road that the Buddha or his disciples usually travelled from Śrāvastī to Kauśāmbī and back *viâ* Sāketa. The *Vinaya Mahāvagga*, however, gives also the description of a somewhat different route that lay between Kauśāmbī and Śrāvastī. According to this description, the Buddha walked from Kosaṁbī to Bālakaloṇakāragāma, from Bālakaloṇakāragāma to the reserve forest in Pārileyyaka and at last from Pārileyyaka to Sāvatthī.[7] But it is more probable that both Bālakaloṇakāragāma and Pārileyyaka were situated on the same high road connecting Kosambī with Sāketa and Sāvatthī. In the Jātaka commentary, the Buddha is said to have passed through a town of Bhaddavatikā *en route* from Śrāvastī to Kauśāmbī,[8] while in the *Vinaya Mahāvagga* Bhaddavatikā occurs as a name of a swift she-elephant of King Udena of Kauśāmbī by which Jīvaka left Ujjayinī for Kosambī.[9]

The *Vinaya Chullavagga* (Khandhaka, 12) records the journey of Bhikkhus by a land route from Kosambī to Ahogaṅga pabbata, from Ahogaṅga pabbata to Soreyya, from Soreyya to Saṅkassa, from Saṅkassa to Kaṇṇakujja, from Kaṇṇakujja to Udumbara, from Udumbara to Aggalapura, and from Aggalapura to Sahajāti. The same authority records also a journey of certain Bhikkhus by a boat from Vesālī to Sahajāti.[10] The Ahogaṅga pabbata, as its name implies,

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[1] *Kathāsarit-sāgara, Second Stambaka, 1st Taraṅga*; "*Asti Vatsa iti khyāto deśaḥ Kauśāmbī nāma tatrāsti madhyabhāge mahāpurī.*"

[2] Spence Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 501: Cf. *Manorathapūraṇī*, I, p. 306:
"*Jātadivase yeva cha Mahā-Yamunāya nahāpitā dārakā nirogā honti. Nahāpanatthāya naṃ pesesi.*"
"*Jattha ya kālimdī-jala-lahari-āliṃgijjamānānivanāni.*"—Vividhatirthakalpa, p. 23.

[3] It may be identified with modern Ayodhyā or Oudh.

[4] This has been identified by Mr. M. B. Garde, Director of Archæology, Gwalior State, with Tumain in that State.

[5] *Suttanipāta*, VV. 1011-1013; *Suttanipāta Commy.*, p. 583; *Buddhist India*, p. 103; Law's *Śrāvastī in Indian Literature*, p. 8.

[6] *Majjhima Nikāya*, I, p. 149.

[7] *Vinaya Mahāvagga*, Vol. I, p. 352.

[8] Fausböll's *Jātaka*, I, p. 360.

[9] *Vinaya Mahāvagga*, p. 277.

[10] Ghosh, *Early History*, p. 8, notes that Sahajāti was the nearest river station of Kauśāmbī down the Yamunā near its confluence, and that it is identified with Bhīṭā, about 8 miles from Allahabad. Rhys Davids (*Buddhist India*, pp. 103-4), characteristically observes: "Upwards the rivers were used along the Ganges as far west as Sahajāti, and along the Jumnā as far west as Kosambī. Downwards, in later times at least, the boats went right down to the mouths of the Ganges, and thence either across or along the coast to Burma."

was a mountain on the down stream of the Ganges or of some other river, the name of the mountain being also spelt as Adhogaṅgā.[1] According to the Vinaya Chullavagga, it could be reached by persons going from Kosambī or coming from Pāṭheyya and Avantī in the Deccan. According to other Pāli authorities, the easier way of journeying from Ahogaṅga or Adhogaṅgā pabbata to Pāṭaliputta was one by boat.[2] With such facilities of communications, north, south, east and west, both by land and river routes, Kauśāmbī could not but be an important centre or emporium of inland trade of ancient India.[3]

Buddhaghosha informs us that the three banker friends Ghosita, Kukkuṭa and Pāvārika were the three business magnates of Kauśāmbī in the Buddha's time. All of them went on the back of elephants from Kauśāmbī to Śrāvastī to wait upon the Buddha who were at that time staying at Jetavana, and it was to keep their invitation that the Buddha agreed to visit Kauśāmbī. Each of the three bankers built a suitable retreat for the Buddha and his disciples at the cost of a large sum of money in the neighbourhood of the city of Kauśāmbī. Each of these three monastic establishments was named after its donor and builder. Thus Ghositārāma built and donated by the banker Ghosita, Kukkuṭārāma by the banker Kukkuṭa, and Pāvārika-ambavana (Pāvārika's Mango-grove) by the banker Pāvārika were the three most important centres of Buddhism that grew up in the neighbourhood of Kauśāmbī in the Buddha's time.[4] Buddhist literature keeps us in the dark as to the location of the three *ārāmas* with reference to the city. But regarding Ghositārāma Hiuen Tsang definitely tells us that it was situated "outside the city on the south-east side with an Asoka tope over 200 feet high". The Chinese pilgrim also records that "beside this tope was a place with traces of the sitting and walking up and down of the Four Past Buddhas, and there was another Buddha Hair-and-nail relic tope". In the south-east corner of the city, Hiuen Tsang saw the ruins of the residence of Ghosita (Chinese *Ku-shih-lo* or Ghoshila), where "also were a Buddhist temple, a Hair-and-nail-relic tope, and the remains of the Buddha's bath-house."[5]

Fortunately for us, Hiuen Tsang has left hints for the location of the remaining two *ārāmas*. Kukkuṭārāma was situated to the south-east of Ghositārāma. It was at the time of his visit "a two-storey building with an old brick upper-chamber".[6] Pāvārika's Mango-grove was situated to the east of Ghositārāma, where the Chinese pilgrim noticed the old foundations of a building.[7]

At a distance of 8 or 9 li (about 2 miles) south-east from the city of Kauśāmbī was "a venomous dragon's cave in which the Buddha had left his shadow". "Beside the Dragon's Cave was an Asoka-built tope, and at the side of it were the traces of the Buddha's exercise-ground, and a hair-and-nail-relic tope."[8]

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[1] *Kathāvatthu Commy.*, Siamese ed., *Nidānakathā.*
[2] *Mahāvaṁsa* (Geiger Ed.) p. 53.
[3] Rhys Dāvids, *Buddhist India*, p. 102.
[4] *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, I, pp. 317, 319.
[5] Watters, Yuan Chwang, I, p. 369.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 370.
[7] & [8] *Ibid.*, p. 371.

Fā-Hien, the earlier Chinese pilgrim arrived at Kauśāmbī from the Deer Park to the north of Benares. He had to walk 13 *yojanas* (about 91 miles) north-west from the Deer Park in order to reach Kauśāmbī. He mentions the vihāra called Ghoshiravana without actually locating it. Eight *yojanas* (about 56 miles) east of Kauśāmbī he noticed a place where the Buddha had converted an evil demon. Fā-Hien's Ghosiravana Vihāra is no other than the Pāli Ghositārāma or Hiuen Tsang's Ghositārāma.

Hiuen Tsang who visited Kauśāmbī twice, arrived at the Kauśāmbī country by going from Prayāga " south-west through a forest infested by wild elephants and other fierce animals, and after a journey of above 500 li (about 100 miles)."[1] Hiuen Tsang's account is silent as to the actual distance or direction of the city of Kauśāmbī. When he departed from the city of Kauśāmbī, he proceeded " in a north-east direction through a great wood and, after a journey of above 700 li, he crossed the Ganges to the north, to the city of *Ka-she-pu-lo* (Kāśapura or Kājapura)". From Kāśapura he walked north 170 or 180 li and came to the country called *Pi-sho-ka* (Viśoka) from which place he afterwards travelled above 500 li (about 100 miles) north-east and arrived at the kingdom of Śrāvastī (*i.e.*, Kośala).[2]

As for the identification of the city of Kauśāmbī, we have so far only two suggestions for consideration, one offered by Cunningham in 1871, and the other by Vincent A. Smith in 1898. In the opinion of Cunningham the present village of Kosam " stands on the actual site of the ancient Kauśāmbī".[3] According to Vincent A. Smith, the site of Kauśāmbī " is to be looked for, and when looked for, will be found, in one of the Native States of Baghelkhund Agency, in the valley of the Tons river and not very far from the East Indian Railway, which connects Allahabad with Jabalpur. In short, the Satnā (Sutnā) railway station marks the approximate position of Kauśāmbī."[4] Watters simply points out the difficulties in accepting either of them as reconcilable with the statements of the Chinese pilgrims without bringing forward any new suggestion from his side.[5] The two main data relied upon by Cunningham were these: (1) that Kauśāmbī was situated on the Yamunā, and (2) that the Life of Hiuen Tsang gives the distance between Prayāga and Kauśāmbī as 50 li, instead of 500 of the Records, 50 being a clerical error for 150, " the equivalent of 15 *kos*, which is the actual distance across the fields for foot passengers from Kosam to the fort of Allahabad".

Watters has, on the other hand, conclusively shown that there is a perfect agreement between the Life and *Si-yu-ki* of Hiuen Tsang as regards the distance and direction of Kauśāmbī from Prayāga. In both of them, the distance is given as above 500 li (about 100 miles) to the south-west of Prayāga. The pilgrim's journey from Prayāga to Kauśāmbī lay through a jungle and bare plains, and he took seven days to cover the distance of 500 li. There is nothing

[1] & [2] Watters, Yuan Chwang, pp. 365, 372-77.
[3] Cunningham, *The Ancient Geography of India* (S. N. Majumdar's Edition), p. 454.
[4] J. R. A. S., 1898, p. 503.
[5] Watters, Yuan Chwang, I. pp. 366-67. Cf. Cambridge History of India, Vol. I, p. 308.

however, in the actual records of Hiuen Tsang to suggest that the distance given was the distance between Prayāga and the city of Kauśāmbī. What is most likely is that the pilgrim went to the country of Kauśāmbī by a round-about way instead of going straight by a short-cut from Prayāga to the city of Kauśāmbī. The distance and direction of Kauśāmbī from Sārnāth as given by Fā-Hien may be taken as fairly correct. The distance of 13 yojanas (about 90 or 104 miles) is almost the present distance by road from Benares to Kosam. It need not worry us if Fā-Hien placed Kauśāmbī to the north-west of Benares, for he may have walked by a road following north-west direction over some distance. The reader must, of course, note that Kosam, which is supposed to be the site of Kauśāmbī, is about 30 or 31 miles from Allahabad across the fields, 137 or 138 miles by road, above the Yamunā.

Besides the present name of the village on the Yamunā, Kosam, a shortened form of the Pāli or the Prākrit name Kosambī or Kosaṃbī, there are more positive epigraphic evidences to support Cunningham's identification of the ancient site with the present Kosam. First, a stone pillar which stands *in situ* at Kosam, resembles in certain characteristic features Aśoka's monolith, bears an inscription in its upper part which is dated in *Chaitrabadi Pañchami* in *Saṃvat* 1621. The date of the record corresponds, according to Fleet, to February, 1565 A.D. In it, the locality is distinctly referred to as Kauśāmbīpuri.[1] As Mr. Ghosh rightly observes, "this undoubtedly proves that Kosam which contains the stone pillar referred to above and the inscription which was engraved in the reign of Akbar was known to its residents to be Kauśāmbī even in the sixteenth century A.D."[2]

Secondly, the Jaina Dharmaśālā in the village of Pabhosā, which lies only "at a distance of 2½ miles north-west of the remains at Kosam", contains a dedicatory inscription, dated in *Saṃvat* 1881 corresponding to 1824 or 1825 A.D., *i.e.*, nearly half a century before Cunningham's identification of the site of Kauśāmbī with Kosam in 1871 A.D. In this inscription, the hill of Pabhosā, on the top of which the Jaina temple was built, is placed just outside or in the suburb in the city of Kauśāmbī (*Kauśāmbī-nagara-bāhya-prabhāsāchalopari*).[3] The discussion of the point at issue may be closed with the following observation:

"The question of the site of Kauśāmbī has been much debated chiefly because of the impossibility of reconciling Cunningham's identification (Kosam on the Jumna in the Allahabad district of the United Provinces) with the description of the Chinese Buddhist pilgrims. But in all this controversy it seems to have been forgotten that such descriptions may either have been incorrect originally or misinterpreted subsequently. The tangible facts seem undoubtedly to support the identification of Kosam with Kauśāmbī. It seems to have been on the north bank of the Jumna, at a point about 400 miles by road from Ujjenī and about 230 miles up stream from Benares."[4]

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[1] *E. I.*, XI, pp. 91-92.
[2] Ghosh, *Early History*, pp. 93-94.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 94-95.
[4] Law, *Ancient Mid-Indian Kṣatriya Tribes*, p. 120.

3. THE VAŚAS OR VATSAS AND THEIR LAND

Kauśāmbī or Kosambī was the capital of Vatsa, the land or kingdom of the Vaśas (Pāli *Vaṃsas*) or Vatsas (Ārdha-Māgadhi *Vachchhas*). The Vaśas or Vatsas after whom was named the land or territory occupied and governed by them, find mention in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (VIII, 14. 3) along with the Uśīnaras, Kurus and Pañchālas as Indo-Aryan peoples who founded kingdoms separately amongst them. They are all spoken of as peoples or tribes of Kshatriyas that lived or settled in the Dhruva Madhyamādik, a term which may be taken to correspond to Madhyadeśa of the *Manu-Saṃhitā*. The close association of the Vaśas with the Uśīnaras is also to be found in the *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa* (I, 2, 9), in the expression Savaśa-Uśīnareshu. In the *Kaushitakī Upanishad* (IV, 1), too, we have mention of the Vaśas together with the Uśīnaras, Matsyas, Kurus and Pañchālas. In the Pāli *Aṅguttara-Nikāya* (Vol. I, p. 213; IV, pp. 252, 256 and 260), the land of the Vaṃsas is counted among the sixteen Mahājanapadas, the rest being those of the Chedis, Kurus, Pañchālas, Matsyas, Sūrasenas, etc.[1] The *Janavasabha-Suttanta* associates the Vaṃsas rather with the Chedis than with the Uśīnaras, and mentions the powerful ruling peoples of the time in such groups as *Kāśī-Kosalā, Vajji-Mallā, Chedi-Vaṃsā, Kuru-Pañchālā*, and *Machchha-Surasenā*.[2]

The *Mahābhārata* embodies certain items of traditional information regarding Vatsa-bhūmi or land of the Vatsas. In one reference (Sabhāparva, Ch. 30), we are told that prior to the Rājasūya sacrifice performed by King Yudhishṭhira, Bhīmasena led an expedition towards the east and conquered the Vatsa-bhūmi. In another reference (*Vanaparva*, Ch. 253), we read that the Vatsa country was conquered by Karṇa. In a third reference (*Anuśāsanaparva*, Ch. 30), we find that the Haihayas of the Chedi country took hold of the capital of the Vatsas after killing Haryyaśva. In the fourth reference (*Bhīshmaparva*, Ch. 50), we are informed that in the Kurukshetra war the Vatsas fought on the side of the Pāṇḍavas.[3]

The *Aṅguttara-Nikāya* (IV, pp. 252, 256, 260) speaks of the land of the Vaṃsas as a country which abounded in seven kinds of gems and was consequently regarded as very rich and prosperous. The *Arthaśāstra* mentions Vatsa as one of those countries of which the cotton fabrics were of the very best quality.[4]

Hiuen Tsang has left the following testimony to the land and its people. First, in Beal's rendering: "this country is about 6,000 *li* in circuit, and the capital about 30 *li*. The land is famous for its productiveness; the increase is very wonderful. Rice and sugarcanes are plentiful. The climate is very hot, the manners of the people hard and rough. They cultivate learning and are very earnest in their religious life and in virtue."[5] Secondly, in Watters' rendering: "This is described by the pilgrim as being above 6,000 *li* in circuit,

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[1] The full list is given below: Aṅga, Magadha, Kāśī, Kosala, Vajji, Malla, Ceti, Vaṅga, Kurū, Pañchāla, Machchha, Sūrasena, Assaka, Avanti, Gandhāra and Kamboja.

[2] *Dīgha N*, II., p. 200.

[3] Law, *Ancient Mid-Indian Kṣatriya Tribes*, p. 118.

[4] *Arthaśāstra*, Shamaśāstrī, Tr. p. 94.

[5] Beal, *Records of the Western World*, I, p. 235.

and its capital (evidently named Kauśāmbī) as being above 30 *li* in circuit. It was a fertile country with a hot climate: it yielded much upland rice and sugar-cane; its people were enterprising, fond of the arts, and cultivators of religious merit."[1] As attested by the Lalitavistara, (Ed. Lefmann, p. 21) this was the general Buddhist opinion about the people of Vatsa who are criticised as: "Prākṛitam cha chaṇḍaṃ cha", *i.e.*, 'rude and rough'.

From the earliest times the Vatsas, as the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* clearly attests, established a monarchical form of government in their land with Kauśāmbī as their capital. They formally anointed their kings in accordance with the prescribed Vedic rites, and they are not known to have deviated from this practice at any period of their history. Ordeal by walking unhurt through fire was applied as a test of purity of descent of the kings.[2] In the Buddha's time Vatsa was just one of the four principal monarchies in northern India with Udena or Udayana as its reigning king and Kauśāmbī as its capital. The history of Vatsa since the Buddha's demise, as we shall see anon, was one of decline.

4. POLITICAL HISTORY OF VATSA

The Vatsas (Pāli Vaṃsas) and the Bhārgavas (Pāli Bhaggas) were two ruling clans that settled down and founded kingdoms side by side. Vatsa from whom the Vatsas claimed their descent and Bhṛigu from whom the Bhārgavas claimed their descent are said to have been two sons of king Pratardana of Kāśī.[3] Vatsa is accordingly credited with the foundation of Vatsabhūmi, and Bhṛigu with that of Bhṛigubhūmi.[4] The capital of the Vatsa kingdom was Kauśāmbī from a very early time, and according to Buddhist tradition, the capital of the Bhagga kingdom was, at least at the time of the rise of Buddhism, Sumsumāragira, misspelt as Suṃsumāragiri (Skt. Śiśumāragiri). At about the rise of Buddhism in the 6th century B.C., the territory of the Bhaggas became a dependency of the Vatsa kingdom, governed by a viceroy of the royal family of Kauśāmbī.[5] The location of Bhagga in relation to Vatsa is unknown. Bhikshu Rāhula Saṃkṛityāyana proposes to identify the Bhagga country with the present Mirzapur district and its capital Suṃsumāragiri with the present Chunar hill.[6] The name of the capital as known to Buddhaghosha was Suṃsumāragira, and not Suṃsumāragiri to justify any attempt on the part of any scholar to identify it with the Chunar hill. As Buddhaghosha rightly suggests, Suṃsumāragira was the name of the principal town in the Bhagga country. The city was named Suṃsumāragira for no other reason than the fact that while it was being founded, a suṃsumāra (crocodile) uttered sound from a lake in which it lived.[7]

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[1] Watters, Yuan Chwang, I, p. 366.

[2] *Cambridge History of India*, I, p. 134.

[3] For the close connection between the two people *see* Ray Chaudhuri's Political History of Ancient India, 3rd ed., p. 92; Law, *Ancient Mid-Indian Kṣatriya Tribes*, p. 138.

[4] *Harivamśa* 29. 73; *Patardanasya putrau dvau Vatsa-Bhargau babhuvatuḥ* | *Vatsasya Vatsabhūmistu Bhrigu-bhūmistu Bhārgavāt*||.

[5] *Dhonasākha-Jātaka* (F. No. 353).

[6] *Buddhacaryā*, pp. 75, 175; Ghosh, *Early History of Kauśāmbī*, p. 32.

[7] *Papañchasūdanī*, II, p. 65: Bhaggesū ti evannāmake janapade. Suṃsumāragire ti evananāmake nagare. Tassa kira nagarassa vatthupariggahadivase avidūre udakarahade suṃsumāro saddam akāsi, giram nichchhāresi. Atha nagare nimmite Suṃsumāragiran ty'ev'a assa nāmaṃ akaṁsu.

According to the tradition in the *Harivaṃśa*, the Vatsabhūmi was founded by a royal prince of Kāśī, while according to the Great Epic, its capital Kauśāmbī was founded by the Chedi prince Kuśāmba. The Pali tradition tends to suggest that the Vatsas themselves founded their chief town which became known as Kosambī, first, because it was founded near the hermitage of a ṛishi named Kusumba, and secondly because it abounded in the Kuśāmba trees. The Pali tradition in the Mahāvaṃsa commentary also suggests that fourteen pre-Ikshvāku kings of the Solar dynasty, headed by Baladatta, ruled the Vatsa kingdom with their capital at Kauśāmbī.

The Great Epic contains traditions that suggest, as we noted, first, that Haryyaśva or Haryyaśya was once the ruler of Vatsa after killing whom the Haihayas of the Chedi country made themselves masters of it; and secondly, that from the time of the Kurukshetra war the Vatsa king acknowledged the suzerainty of the Pāṇḍavas. The Purāṇas definitely tell us that since Hastināpura was carried away by the Ganges, Nichakshu who was the fifth in descent from the Puru prince Parīkshit, grandson of Arjuna, transferred his capital to Kauśāmbī where altogether twenty-five Puru kings,[1] from Nichakshu to Kshemaka, reigned. In accordance with the ancient Brahmanical tradition, this dynasty of kings honoured by gods and ṛishis, as to reach its end in the Kali Age with Kshemaka as its last independent king. The list consists of the following names: Nichakshu (Vivakshu, Niravakha, Nemichakra), Ushṇa (Bhūri), Chitraratha, Śucidratha (Kaviratha, Kuviratha), Vṛishṇimat (Vṛishṭimat, Dhṛitimat), Sushena, Sunitha (Sutīrtha), Rucha (Ṛicha), Nṛichakshu (Trichaksha), Sukhībala (Sukhābala, Sukhīnaba), Pariplava (Paripluta, Parishṇava), Medhāvī, Nṛipañjaya, Durva (Urva, Mṛidu, Hari), Tigmātman (Tigma), Bṛihadratha, Vasudāna (Vasudāma, Sudāmaka, Sudāsa), Śatānīka, Udayana (Udāna, Durdamana), Vahīnara (Mahinara, Ahīnara), Daṇḍapāṇi (Khaṇḍapāṇi), Nirāmitra (Naramitra), and Kshemaka.[2]

In this genealogy, we are given the succession of the kings of Vatsa from Nichakshu to Kshemaka without the length of their reigns. In it, Udayana who was a contemporary of the Buddha, is represented as the son and successor of Satānīka. The four successors of Udayana are Vahīnara, Daṇḍapāṇi, Nirāmitra and Kshemaka. The evidence of Buddhist literature in general, and of the Pāli Canon in particular, clearly proves the contemporaneity of Udayana, the king of Vatsa with Chaṇḍa Pradyota (Pāli Chaṇḍa Pajjota), the king of Avantī, Prasenajit (Pāli Pasenadi or Pasenaji), the king of Kośala, and Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru, kings of Magadha. It is interesting to find that the Purāṇas mention just four kings who succeeded to the throne of Avantī after Chaṇḍa Pradyota, and four kings who succeeded to the throne of Kośala after Prasenajit.[3] The

[1] Rhys Davids (Cambridge History, Vol. I, p. 308), says: "The later list contains the names of twenty-nine Puru kings, who lived after the war. They reigned first at Hastināpura, the ancient capital of the Kuru princes, which is usually identified with a ruined site in the Meerut District on the old bed of the Ganges, lat. 29°. 9′. N. long 78°. 3′ E (Pargiter, *Mark. Pur.* p. 355); but when this city was destroyed by an inundation of the Ganges in the reign of Nichakshus, they removed the seat of their rule to Kauśambī ...... Another of their capitals was Indraprastha in the Kuru plain, the ancient city of the Pāṇḍu princes; it is the modern Indrapat near Delhi."

[2] Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, pp. 65-66.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 67-68.

total length of reign of the five kings of Avantī from Pradyota to Nandivardhana is given as 138 years, the four successors having reigned altogether for 115 years.[1] Among the kings of Northern India who were contemporaries of the Buddha, Bimbisāra pre-deceased him by about eight years, and Ajātaśatru lived for sixteen years after the Buddha's demise; Prasenajit who was of the same age with the Buddha, died almost in the same year; and though both Pradyota and Udayana survived the Buddha, they could not have lived or reigned for more than 10 or 15 years after the Buddha's demise. Thus, on the whole, it may be correctly surmised that Avantī, Kośala and Vatsa retained their independence for about a century after the Buddha's demise and lost their independence only during the reign of the Nandas. To risk with Dr. Pradhan and Mr. Ghosh any conjecture beyond this will be unwise.[2] The truth in the above surmise receives confirmation from the fact that when king Aśoka ascended the throne of Magadha, the three ancient kingdoms of Kośala, Vatsa, and Avantī were already included in the Maurya Empire. Ujjenī or Avantī was placed under a Viceroy of Aśoka, while Kauśāmbī or Vatsa was governed by a Mahāmātra placed in charge of it.[3]

The Lalitavistara contains a tradition according to which king Udayana was born on the same day as the Buddha.[4] He appears to have strengthened his political position by matrimonial alliances with the neighbouring kings, particularly with king Chaṇḍa Pradyota of Avantī. During his reign the kingdom of Vatsa lay to the north-east of Avantī, and to the west and south-west of Kāśī-Kośala. It extended along the bank of the Yamunā. The Bṛihat-Saṃhitā places it in the middle part of Northern India. The Bhagga province was ruled by Prince Bodhi who was evidently a son of Udayana by his queen Vāsuladattā or Vāsavadattā. Prince Bodhi enjoys a lasting fame in the history of India as the builder of a magnificent palace called Kokanada or 'Lotus' at Suṃsumāragira.[5]

Just prior to the rise of Buddhism the political history of ancient India presented a picture of four powerful monarchies in Northern India, each of which grew somewhat larger by the annexation of a neighbouring territory.[6] Aṅga was annexed to Magadha, Kāśī to Kośala, Bhagga to Vatsa, and Śūrasena to Avantī. The monarchs of these kingdoms sought to strengthen their position by entering into matrimonial alliances. The sunshine of peace smiled over the land for the larger part of the Buddha's career as a teacher. Troubles again arose when Ajātaśatru virtually deposed his father Bimbisāra, the king of Magadha, and picked up a quarrel with the Vrijis of Vaiśālī, and Viḍūḍabha or Virūḍaka deposed Prasenajit, the king of Kośala, and planned an attack on the territory of the Śākyas. The Majjhima-Nikāya embodies a reliable tradition of an expected attack of Rājagṛiha, the then capital of Magadha, by king Chaṇḍa Pradyota

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[1] Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 68.
[2] Ghosh, *Early History*, pp. 26 ff.
[3] Aśoka's Kauśāmbī Schism Pillar Edict.
[4] *Vide* Foucaux, Tr. of the Tibetan version of the *Lalita-vistara*; cf. Rockhill, *The Life of the Buddha*, pp. 16-17.
[5] *Majjhima-Nikāya*, II, pp. 91 ff.
[6] Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, Ch. I.

of Avantī. Between Magadha and Avantī on one hand, and between Avantī and Kośala on the other, the kingdom of Vatsa must have served as a buffer state. The *Petavatthu Commentary* definitely suggests that Udayana survived the Buddha, though it does not mention for how many years.[1] Bhāsa in his *Svapna-Vāsavadattā*, tells us that an upstart called Āruṇi ousted Udayana and seized the throne of Vatsa.[2] Thus a fresh struggle for supremacy began and continued for about a century after the Buddha's demise with the result that Magadha became an empire, which extended so far as to include in it not only Kāśī-Kośala but Avantī of the Pradyotas and Vatsa of the Pauravas.[3]

As in earlier days so during the reign of Aśoka in the 3rd century B.C., Kauśāmbī stood on the high road connecting Vidisā and Ujjayinī with Benares and Pāṭaliputra. King Aśoka appears to have placed the administration of Vatsa in charge of some Mahāmātras with their headquarters at Kauśāmbī. Kauśāmbī was probably the place of residence of Asoka's second queen Kāluvākī and her son Prince Tīvala. Any how, the edict on her donations was promulgated only at Kauśāmbī.

The stūpa of Bharhut was erected in the Vatsa country not earlier than the 2nd century B.C. The very first pillar of its main railing was donated by Chāpadevī, wife of Revatīmitra, of Vidiśā.[4] Revatīmitra was, in all probability, a member of the Suṅga-Mitra family, stationed at Vidisā. If this is correctly surmised, we can say that when the Bharhut railing was erected, the Śuṅga dominions extended as far west as Vatsa and Avanti. As clearly proved by the inscriptions when the Bharhut gateways were erected by king Dhanabhūti not earlier than the 1st century B.C., the Vatsa country was included in the Śuṅga empire (*Suganaṁ raje*).[5]

Both inscriptions and coin-legends record and preserve the name of a few Mitra kings. One of these inscriptions is to be found in the Pabhosā rock cave, situated 'about two miles west of Kosam, the site of ancient Kauśāmbī.' In it, king Bahasatimita (Bṛihaspatimitra), son of Gopālī, is described as the nephew (sister's son) of Āshāḍhasena of Ahichhatra. The inscription was incised in the tenth year of Udāka. There is nothing in this inscription to suggest that either Bahasatimitra or Udāka was the king of Kauśāmbī or Vatsa kingdom. The same remark holds true of almost all the remaining inscriptions introducing the Mitra kings. But in the Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravela, the contemporary king Bahasatimita is definitely represented as the ruler of Magadha (*Māgadhānaṁ rājā*). The inscriptions referring to the Mitra kings, palæographically of the same age as Khāravela's epigraph, have been found incised at Bodha-Gayā, Pabhosā, Morā near Mathurā, and the like. The key furnished in the Hāthigumphā inscription is rather in favour of associating them with the throne of Magadha than with that of Kauśāmbī. The mere fact that a large number of Mitra coins have been found at Kosam and in Ramnagar of Bareilly

[1] *Petavatthu Commy.*, pp. 140 foll.

[2] *Svapna-Vāsavadattā*, Sukthankar's Transl., p. 64.

[3] D. R. Bhandarkar, *Carmichæl Lectures*, 1918, pp. 81, 84.

[4] Barua and Sinha, *Barhut Inscriptions*, p. 3.

[5] Barua and Sinha, No. 1, p. 1.

district, among the ruins of Ahichhatrā, the capital of Uttara Pañchāla, is not sufficient to prove that the Mitras who were matrimonially connected with the rulers of Ahichhatrā, were the local rulers of Kauśāmbī. There seems to be much force in the argument of Mr. Ghosh that the Mitras had issued the coins as independent kings rather than as feudatory chiefs under the Śuṅgas.[1]

The real crux of the Pabhosā inscription of Āshāḍhasena lies in the statement of its date in such terms as: *Udākasa dasame savachhare* 'in the tenth year of Udāka', a name which easily equates with Odaka or Odraka by which latter name the fifth Śuṅga king is designated in the Purāṇas. As a matter of fact, the late Dr. Jayaswal readily identified Udāka of the Pabhosā inscription with Odraka who figures in the Purāṇa dynastic list as the fifth Śuṅga king.[2] Mr. Ghosh, on the other hand, proposes to solve the difficulty by the assumption that Udāka was the ruler of Kauśāmbī when the Pabhosā rock cave was dedicated to the Kassapiya arhats.[3] But we see no objection to representing Udāka or Odraka as a local ruler of the place under the Mitra kings. The personal relationship of the donor of the cave with king Bahasatimitra is mentioned, as may be supposed, as a basis of Āshāḍhasena's reason for persuading Udāka to allow him to excavate the cave in that locality outside his own kingdom. We may perhaps go further and suggest that king Dhanabhūti, the donor of Bharhut gateways, his father Āgaraju and grandfather Viśvadeva were all local chiefs of Vatsa under the Śuṅgas.[4] An inscription on the gateway on the fort of Kara, dated in Saṃvat 1093 (1036 A.D.), records the grant of the village of Payalāsa (modern Prās) 'in the *Kauśāmba-maṇḍala* to one *Māthura-vikaṭa* of Pabhosā together with its customary duties, royalties, taxes, gold and tithes in perpetuity to his descendants by *Mahārājādhirāj Yaśaḥpāla*'[5] who was the last Pratīhāra king of Kanauj. The history of Vatsa or the country of Kauśāmbī as a political unit ended with the rule of Yaśaḥpāla of Kanauj.

5. UDAYANA, HIS PARENTS, QUEENS AND CHILDREN

The whole interest of the political history of the Vatsa kingdom centres round the personality of Udayana who was virtually the last great independent Paurava king, the king of the Bhārata dynasty. Udayana was a war-like king and kept his army always in readiness.[6] The elephants formed a considerable portion of his army.[7] The same is related with much greater detail in the Pāli

[1] Ghosh, *Early History*, p. 46 ff.

[2] J. B. O. R. S., Dec. 1917, pp. 473-5; Führer, E. I., II, pp. 240-3; Pargiter, Dynasties of the Kali Age, p. 31. Rapson (Cambridge History, Vol. I, p. 521), observes: "Jayaswal has given good reasons for supposing that the original form from which all these varieties (Odruk and the rest) are derived was Odraka, and he has shown further that this name is most probably to be restored in the Pabhosā inscription No. 904, which should therefore be regarded as dated in the tenth year of Odraka".

[3] Ghosh, Early History, p. 44: "I suggest that Odaka was actually reigning in Kauśāmbī when the cave was contructed."

[4] Barua, *Barhut*, Bk. I, pp. 41-42, inclines tentatively to connect king Dhanabhuti and his predecessors with Mathurā or a locality near about. Rapson, Cambridge History of India, Vol. I, pp. 523-24, observes: "We may conclude that this family ruled at Bharhut, and that it was connected in some way with the royal family at Mathurā, more than 250 miles to the Northwest."

[5] *J. R. A. S.*, 1927, p. 694.

[6] Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha*, p. 74.

[7] *Udenavatthu, Dhammapada Commentary*, Vol. I.

Udenavatthu[1] and the Sanskrit *Mākandika-Avadāna*.[2] It is narrated also in the *Meghadūta* of Kālidāsa and the *Kathāsarit-sāgara* of Somadeva, and it forms a theme of such Sanskrit dramas as the *Svapna-Vāsavadattā* and *Pratijñā-Yaugandharāyaṇa* of Bhāṣa, and the *Ratnāvalī* and *Priyadarśikā* of Harsha. The legends of Udayana are also to be found in the *Brahmakhaṇḍa* of the *Skanda-Purāṇa*, the Jaina *Vividhatīrthakalpa*, the *Lalitavistara*, *Tibetan Buddhist literature*, and the *Si-yu-ki* of Hiuen Tsang.

Though his actual connection with the long line of Puru kings of Kauśāmbī is shrouded in mystery, the Pāli legends tell us that he ascended the throne of Vatsa by the assertion and establishment of his rightful claim as the son and successor of his father Parantapa, the last reigning king of the place.[3] In the *Udenavatthu*, Vatsa is described as a paveṇirajja, *i.e.*, a kingdom in which succession to the throne was determined by the law of primogeniture.[4] The Pāli legends do not, however, mention the name of his mother who is simply introduced as *devī* or queen of Parantapa. In most of the other references, whether Brāhmaṇical, Jaina, or Buddhist, Śatānīka (better, Śatānīka II) is represented as Udayana's father.[5] In the Skanda-Purāṇa alone, Sahasrānīka is represented as the father and Śatānīka as the grandfather of Udayana.[6] Whether Parantapa, Śatānīka or Sahasrānīka was the name of Udayana's father and predecessor on the throne of Kauśāmbī, it signifies nothing but the great valour and military strength of the ruler. The Skanda-Purāṇa speaks of Śatānīka, grandfather of Udayana, as a king of Kauśāmbī who belonged to the family of Arjuna, who was powerful and intelligent, who was loved by his subjects, and who was killed in a war between the Devas and the Asuras.[7] The Jaina tradition would have us believe that Udayana's father Śatānīka II invaded Champā, the capital of Aṅga, during the reign of king Dadhivāhana.[8] According to the Skanda Purāṇa, Udayana's mother was queen Mṛigāvatī, grand-daughter of Kṛitavarmā, king of Ayodhyā.[9] In the Vividhatīrthakalpa of Jina Prabha Sūri, we are told that Udayana, the son of Śatānīka and king of Vatsa, was born of the womb of Mṛigāvatī.[10] In the plays of Bhāṣa, Udayana is described as Vaidehīputra, which indicates that his mother was a princess of Videha.[11]

In Buddhist traditions, Udayana figures not only as a contemporary of king Chaṇḍa Pradyota of Avantī, king Prasenajit of Kośala, and king Bimbisāra of Magadha, but a powerful rival of them, the length of their reigns being practically the same. We are told that envious of the wealth and prosperity of Udayana, Chaṇḍa Pradyota laid a trap for the former when he went to the

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1 *Dhammapada Commentary*, I, pp. 161-230.

2 *Divyāvadāna* (Ed. Cowell and Neil), pp. 515-544.

3 *Dhammapada-Commentary*, I, pp. 165 foll.

4 *Dhammapada Commentary*, I, p. 169.

5 *Vividha-tīrtha-kalpa*, ed. by Jina Vijaya Sūri, p. 23.

6 Cf. *The Romantic Legend of Śākya Buddha*, p. 28, in which King *Pih-shing* or "Hundred Excellences, *i.e.*, Śatānīka is represented as the son of *Tsien-Shing* ("Thousand Excellences" or Sahasrānīka).

7 Law, *Ancient Mid-Indian Kṣatriya Tribes*, p. 134.

8 *J. A. S. B.*, 1914, p. 321.

9 *Skanda-Purāṇa*, *Brahmakhaṇḍa*, Ch. V : Law, *Ancient Mid-Indian Kṣatriya Tribes*, p. 134.

10 *Vividhatīrthakalpa*, p. 23 : *Migāva-i-kukkhi-sambhavo Sayāṇīa-putto Udayaṇo Vachchhāhivo ahesi.*

11 Bhandarkar, *Carmichael Lectures*, 1918, p. 59.

frontier of his kingdom for inspection, and succeeded in seizing him as a captive. Udayana's superior strength in the elephants failed to cope with the swifter cavalry force of Chaṇḍa Pradyota by which Udayana was charged and worsted. He made his escape from this captivity by the help of Vāsuladattā or Vāsavadattā, daughter of Chaṇḍa Pradyota, who eloped with Udayana and was made his chief queen on his return to the capital.[1] "The Kathāsarit-sāgara describes Udayana's *digvijaya* and the Priyadarśikā, his conquest of Kaliṅga."[2] The Priyadarśikā speaks also of a matrimonial alliance made by Udayana with Dṛiḍhavarman, king of Aṅga. We are told that Udayana once helped Dṛiḍhavarman in regaining his throne.

According to the Pāli legend, Prince Udayana was born and brought up in the Himalayan region, in the hermitage of a sage who was previously a native of Allakappa (Allakappatāpasa). He was named Udena or Udayana because of his birth just at sunrise, on the top of a hill, and under a clear sky.[3] It was from the hermit from Allakappa that he received a lute called *hatthikanta-vīṇā*, by virtue of which he was able to secure the service of a large number of elephants.[4] According to another Buddhist legend in the Tibetan Dulva, "as the world was illuminated at his birth, as with the sun, he was called Udayana."[5] Going by the legend in the *Skanda Purāṇa* (*Brahmakhaṇḍa*, Ch. 5), we must say that he was born and brought up in the hermitage of the great sage Yāmadagni, where, when grown up, he married Nāga maiden by whom he had a son born to him. The wedding presents from the Nāga family comprised a betel box (*tambuli-māla*) and a lute called *ghoshavatī*. The Purāṇa story differs from the Pāli in that, according to it, king Sahasrānīka brought his wife and son back to his palace from the hermitage and saw him duly installed in his throne,[6] while, according to the latter, Udayana had to find his way to the ancestral throne after his father's death.

To the list of Udayana's romantic marriages we have to add four more, two from the Pāli *Udenavatthu* and two from Bhāṣa's *Svapna-Vāsavadattā* and *Pratijñā-Yaugandharāyaṇa*. He is said to have married Śāmāvatī (Syāmāvatī), daughter of a banker of Bhaddavatī, who was brought up in the family of the banker Ghosita of Kauśāmbī. His another wife was Māgandiyā or Mākandikā, an exquisitely beautiful Brahmin girl from the Kuru country. He married Padmāvatī, daughter of king Ajātaśatru of Magadha. He is also said to have married Sāgarikā, a princess from Ceylon. In the Pāli Udenavatthu, each of his three queens, Vāsuladattā, Sāmāvatī and Māgandiyā, is said to have been attended by five hundred dancing girls. Vāsuladattā or Vāsavadattā became

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1 *Dhammapada Commy.*, I., pp. 191-199.

2 Radhakumud Mookerji's Introd. (Ghosh's *Early History*), p. xx.

3 *Dhammapada-Commy.*, I, p. 165: *Vibhātamānāya pana rattiyā valāhakavigamo cha aruṇaggamanañ cha tassā gabbhavuṭṭhānañ cha ekakkhaṇe yeva ahosi. Sā megha-utuñ cha pabbata-utuñ cha aruṇa-utuñ cha gahetvā jātattā puttassa "Udeno" ti nāmam akāsi.*

4 *Udena-vatthu*, *Dhammapada-Commy.*, I, pp. 164-69.

5 Rockhill's *Life of the Buddha*, p. 17. Cf. Watters, Yuan Chwang, I, p. 368: Udena is translated into Chinese by *Ch'u-ai*, "Yielding affection"; .... by Ch'u-knang, "Yielding brightness": by *jih-tzŭ*, "the Sun"; by *jih-ch'u* or *jih-ch'u*, "Sunrise".

6 Law, *Ancient Mid-Indian Kṣatriya Tribes*, p. 134 foll.

jealous of Sāgarikā, while the jealousy of Māgandiyā towards the virtuous Sāmāvatī went so far as to end in a most deplorable tragedy for both.

Prince Bodhi was Udayana's son by his queen Vāsuladattā or Vāsavadattā, daughter of king Chaṇḍa Pradyota of Avantī. When the Buddha paid his first visit to Suṃsumāragira, the Bhagga country was being ruled by Bodhi as Udayana's viceroy. He was then longing to have a son born to him, but his wish, as foretold by the Buddha, was not to be fulfilled. Buddhist records are silent as to Bodhi's succession to his father's throne, and there is no other authority to identify him with Vahīnara who, as his name implied, was, in all probability, an outsider.

In the Jaina Vividhatīrthakalpa (p. 23), Udayana is praised as an expert in the science of music (*gandhabbaveya-niuṇo*). He ruled the country not only despotically but sometimes recklessly. He seems to have placed his newly married wife in the position of the chief queen. He is said to have brought force and coercion to bear upon the decision of the great banker Ghosita in giving his foster-child Sāmāvatī in marriage to him. When his queen Māgandiyā was found guilty of bringing cruel death to the innocent Sāmāvatī,[1] he ordered her to be buried alive. Plague of a most virulent type broke out in the town of Bhaddavatī, causing a heavy toll of death, and the pestilence was followed by famine. When the king himself was so love-lorn and reckless, the people, too, proved to be Uchchhedavādins, acting thoughtlessly regardless of the next world. Kauśāmbī was of course a flourishing city, among the citizens of which one might count such wealthy bankers as Ghosita, Kukkuṭa and Pāvāriya.[2]

A man of Udayana's type and temperament could not but be hostile towards religion and persons representing it. According to one Buddhist tradition, a hermit fled to Śrāvastī when his life was threatened by Udayana.[3] According to another tradition, Udayana caused torture to the Buddhist Thera Piṇḍola Bharadvāja by means of a nest of brown ants tied to his person for no other fault of his than this that the women of his harem with whom he went to the royal pleasance went to hear the religious discourse of Piṇḍola while the king was sleeping.[4] According to a third tradition, Udayana not only disliked the appearance of the Buddha with his message of peace at the place where he was reviewing his troops with a view to an invasion of the city of Kanakavatī but avenged it forthwith by shooting an arrow at him, which, however, missed its aim.[5] Even such a person as Udayana is said to have been converted to Buddhism, although it is not as yet known what he actually did for this religion.

6. VATSA AND KAUŚĀMBĪ IN RELIGIOUS HISTORY

The records of the influence of religion over Vatsa and Kauśāmbī prior to the introduction of Buddhism and Jainism are few and far between. The people

[1] *Divyāvadāna*, p. 533, relates somewhat different story according to which it was by Udayana's order that fire was set to the pavilion of Sāmāvatī in consequence of which the queen perished in the flame with all her attendants.
[2] *Udenavatthu, Dhammapada Commentary*, I, p. 203.
[3] Watters, Yuan Chwang, I, p. 368.
[4] *Jātaka*, IV, p. 375.
[5] Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha*, p. 74.

of the place were by their nature 'rough and rude'. The happiness of the present life was their mental pre-occupation. The Buddhist tradition, as we noted, speaks of an ancient hermitage of a sage, called Kosamba, near which was built the city of Kauśāmbī. It is conceivable that there were other hermit settlements along the banks of the Yamunā which washed the forests of Kauśāmbī. The Brāhmaṇas introduced to us one Proti Kausurubindi of Kauśāmbī as a pupil and seeker of truth under Uddālaka Āruṇi. But they do not mention any other person of Proti's type. Even at the time of the rise of Buddhism we find that the hermits endowed with miraculous powers had some influence on the mind of the people. But the main supporters of those ascetics were the bankers of Kauśāmbī, all of whom were members of the Vaiśya community.[1] The introduction of Buddhism, too, was due to eagerness of persons belonging to this class or caste. For we are definitely told in Buddhist literature both earlier and later, that it was at an invitation from three wealthy bankers of Kauśāmbī, namely, Ghosita, Kukkuṭa, and Pāvāriya, that the Buddha paid his first visit to Kauśāmbī, the land of the Vatsas. It was again these three bankers who had built three retreats for the Buddha and his disciples in the neighbourhood of Kauśāmbī, the name of each of which perpetuated the memory of its pious donor. The Buddha received the personal invitation from the three bankers when he was staying in Śrāvastī. But he does not appear to have visited Kauśāmbī before the sixth year of his ministry. From Śrāvastī he travelled back to Kapilavastu, where he spent the rains. From Kapilavastu he journeyed to Vaiśālī and Rājagṛiha, and from Rājagṛiha he walked to Benares, from which place he started for Kauśāmbī. According to the Buddhist tradition in the Tibetan Dulva, the Buddha visited Kauśāmbī when king Udayana was busy planning a military expedition to the city of Kanakavatī. The appearance of the messenger of peace was naturally looked upon and dreaded as the appearance of a bad omen, of an ill-luck.[2] According to Pāli legends, however, the Buddha's first visit to Kauśāmbī was intended to oblige the three bankers. We can say that the three retreats dedicated by those bankers served as the first centre of Buddhist activity in Kauśāmbī.[3] The Buddha is said to have sojourned in those retreats from time to time. It was evidently not easy to convert Udayana and members of the royal family to the new faith. There seems to be some truth in the Buddhist legends pointing out that the devotion of queen Sāmāvatī and her attendants and the martyrdom suffered by them were greatly instrumental in bringing about a change of heart in Udayana and making him a supporter of Buddhism.[4] But here, too, we must note that Sāmāvatī was a girl from the family of the banker Ghosita.

The *Tipallatthamiga Jātaka* (F. No. 16) refers to another Buddhist retreat in or near Kauśāmbī which was known by the name of Badarikārāma. Thus in the Buddha's time there were at least four monastic establishments of

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[1] *Dhammapada Commy.*, I, p. 203.
[2] Rockhill, *The Life of the Buddha*, p 74.
[3] *Dhammapada Commy.*, I, pp. 202-208.
[4] *Dhammapada Commy.*, I, pp. 208 ff.

Bhikkhus in the neighbourhood of Kauśāmbī. We have noted that according to Hiuen Tsang the monastery built by Ghoshila or Ghosita was situated outside the city of Kauśāmbī on the south-east side; and that in the neighbourhood of the Ghositārāma were the two monasteries, one of which was certainly built by Pāvāriya in his mango-grove. It is difficult to locate the Badarikārāma. The Petavatthu Commentary records the erection of a vihāra by one Uttara, a wood-carver in the service of king Udayana.[1] The figure was known to have been made for king Udayana by a distinguished artist of the time. It served as a model for other Buddha images subsequently made.[2] But nowhere in the earlier tradition Udayana is found to have been the builder of any such temple, not to speak of the marvellous statue of the Buddha. The temple with the image installed in it must have been built by some other person or persons in later times.

The Deer Park in Bhesakaḷāvana or Kesakaḷāvana[3] in the neighbourhood of Suṃsumāragira, the principal town of the Bhagga province, then ruled by Prince Bodhi as a viceroy, was just the other important Buddhist retreat and early centre of Buddhist activity in the Vatsa country. Buddhist tradition is silent as to the name of the builder and donor of this city and the monastery built in it. The Park evidently belonged to Prince Bodhi who became an ardent lay supporter of Buddhism. The story of a cordial entertainment of the Buddha and his disciples in the famous 'Lotus Palace' then built by Prince Bodhi is narrated in so ancient a Buddhist text as the Bodhirājakumāra-Sutta in the Majjhima-Nikāya.[4]

The Pārileyyaka forest where the Buddha is said to have spent one rainy season and the location of which is unknown, was not probably very far from Kauśāmbī.[5]

The town of Bhaddavatikā which lay on the way from the Pārileyyaka forest to Śrāvastī was another place in the Vatsa kingdom which became associated with the life of the Buddha.[6]

Somewhere in the neighbourhood of Ghositārāma and Kauśāmbī was a cave called Pilakkhaguhā.[7] According to Buddhaghosa, the entrance of this cave was marked by the presence of a Pilakkha tree. It was really a large hollow in the earth caused by rain water (devakatasobbha) where rain water accumulated during the rains, giving it the appearance of a lake or pool and which became dried up during summer. A Parivrājaka or wandering ascetic named Sandaka used to live in it with his five hundred followers during the summer season by covering it with a temporary roof supported upon some pillars or posts. The venerable Ānanda is said to have converted Sandaka to the Buddhist faith with

[1] *Petavatthu Commentary*, pp. 141-2.
[2] Watters, Yuan Chwang, I, p. 368.
[3] *Bodhirājakumāra, Sutta, Majjhima Nikāya*, II, 91 ; Fausböll, *Jātaka*, III, 157.
[4] Vol. II, pp. 91 foll.
[5] *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, III, 94-95.
[6] Fausböll, *Jātaka*, I, 360.
[7] *Majjhima N.*, I, pp. 513 foll.

all his following.[1] The city of Kauśāmbī was visited by two wanderers named Maṇḍissa and Jāliya who interviewed the Buddha at Ghositārāma.[2]

Piṇḍola Bhāradvāja who, according to Pāli accounts, was instrumental in the conversion of Udayana to the Buddhist faith, and who usually resided in Ghositārāma, was a son of the chaplain to king Udayana. As a master of the three Vedas, he used to teach the hymns to some Brahmin pupils.[3] The Dhammapada Commentary tells us that one Tissa Thera was the son of a householder of Kauśāmbī.[4] The Ghositārāma was occasionally visited by Sāriputta, Mahākachchāyana and Upavāṇa.[5] The Bhikkhu Chhanna for whom the Buddha prescribed brahmadaṇḍa at the time of his demise, was an inmate of Ghositārāma.[6] This very ārāma was a favourite resort of the venerable Ānanda even after the Buddha's demise.[7] Overwhelmed with grief at the death of the virtuous queen Sāmāvatī, two of her attendants, Sāmā and Sāmāvatī, joined the Buddhist holy Order as Bhikkhuṇīs.[8] The traits of the people of Vatsa who were "rough and rude" in their manners, were manifest in the conduct of the Kosambian monks who quarrelled among themselves, threatening the Saṃgha with a schism. They had not made up their differences until the citizens of Kauśāmbī refused to supply them with food. Kauśāmbī continued to be a hot bed of schism even in the 3rd century B.C., and king Aśoka had to promulgate a royal ordinance to check these tendencies, as proved by his Schism Pillar Edict, originally set up at Kauśāmbī. It is evident from the Queen's Edict that Kauśāmbī or the Vatsa province was chosen as the place for benefactions of Aśoka's second queen Kāluvākī, mother of Prince Tivala. Her benefactions comprised almshouses, pleasances and fruit gardens among others.

The construction of the famous Buddhist stūpa of Bharhut with its railings and gateways was both commenced and completed during the reign of the Suṅgas. It was during the reign of king Bṛihaspatimitra that the famous Pabhosā cave, situated about 2 miles to the west of Kauśāmbī, was dedicated by king Āshāḍhasena of Ahichchhatra to the Kāśyapīya arhats who were probably a sect of the Jainas, the cave which has continued to be a place of pilgrimage to the Jaina community.

The Ceylonese chronicle Mahāvaṃsa attests that some thirty thousand Bhikkhus of the Ghositārāma of Kauśāmbī, headed by Thera Urudhammarakkhita, visited Ceylon in about the 1st century B.C., during the reign of king Duṭṭhagāmaṇi.[9]

In the second year of the reign of King Kaṇishka, the Buddhist nun Buddhimitrā (better, Buddhamitrā) installed a Bodhisattva image in Kauśāmbī which was then known to have been "sanctified by the Buddha's several visits."

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[1] *Ibid.*

[2] *Dīgha N.*, I, 157, 159-160.

[3] *Psalms of the Brethren*, p. 111.

[4] Vol. II, p. 182.

[5] *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, Vol. V, pp. 76-77 and *Paramattha-dīpanī on the Petavatthu*, pp. 140-144.

[6] *Vinaya Texts*, pt. II, p. 370.

[7] *Saṃyutta N.*, III, 133 foll.

[8] *Therīgāthā Commentary*, P. T. S., p. 44.

[9] P. T. S., p. 228.

When Fā-Hien visited Kauśāmbī in the 5th century A.D., the Ghositārāma was not only in existence but tenanted by Buddhist priests, "mostly of the Lesser Vehicle."[1] When Hiuen Tsang visited the place in the 7th century A.D., during the reign of King Harshavardhana of Kanauj, there were more than ten Saṃghārāmas, all of which were in utter ruin, and "the Brethren, who were above 300 in number, were adherents of the Hīnayāna system. There were more than 50 deva temples and the non-Buddhists were very numerous."[2] Out of the ten monasteries, one was the famous Ghositārāma situated to the south-east of Kauśāmbī. Kukkuṭārāma was probably another monastery which stood to the south-east of the Ghositārāma and in which Vasubandhu once lived and composed the *Wei-shi-hen* (Vidyāmātra-siddhi) "for the refuting of the Hīnayānists and the confounding of non-Buddhists." The third monastery which stood to the east of the Ghositārāma was Pāvāriya's Mango-grove in which Vasubandhu's elder brother, the Bodhisattva Asaṅga, composed the *Hsien-Yang-shêng-chiao-lun*, which seems to have been "an exposition and development of the *Yogāchāryabhūmi-śāstra*."[3]

A carved sandal wood image of the Buddha was installed with a stone canopy suspended over it in a large Buddhist temple, built over 60 feet high within the old royal enclosure. At this part of the old capital were certain memorials of the four past Buddhas as well as of Buddha Gautama. King Aśoka had built near Ghositārāma a stūpa above 200 feet high.

The Chinese pilgrim has nothing more to say regarding the remaining seven monasteries that might have included the Badarikārāma, mentioned in the Jātakas, and the Vihāra built by Uttara. Here practically closes the history of Buddhism in Kauśāmbī and Vatsa as we have no further information on the subject after Hiuen Tsang's visit to the place.

The influence of Jainism over Kauśāmbī does not appear to have been extensive. Kauśāmbī is known to the Jainas as the sacred place where Vardhamāna Mahāvīra was worshipped even by the Sun and the Moon; and where Chandanā attained to *Kaivalya*. Kauśāmbī is also known to the Jainas as the place hallowed by the birth, career and death of Jina Prabha Sūri. The Pabhosā rock cave was excavated in about the 1st century B.C. for the residence of the Kāśyapīya arhats.

In the inscription of the goldsmiths of Kauśāmbī dated Samvat 1621 (1565 A.D.), we find that six of them call themselves Vaishṇavas, although the record itself contains only the prayers of five leading goldsmiths and of thirteen of their employees to Gaṇeśa and the god Bhairava "for favour."

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[1] Legge, *Travels of Fā-Hien*, p. 96.
[2] Watters, Yuan Chwang, I, p. 366.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 370-371.

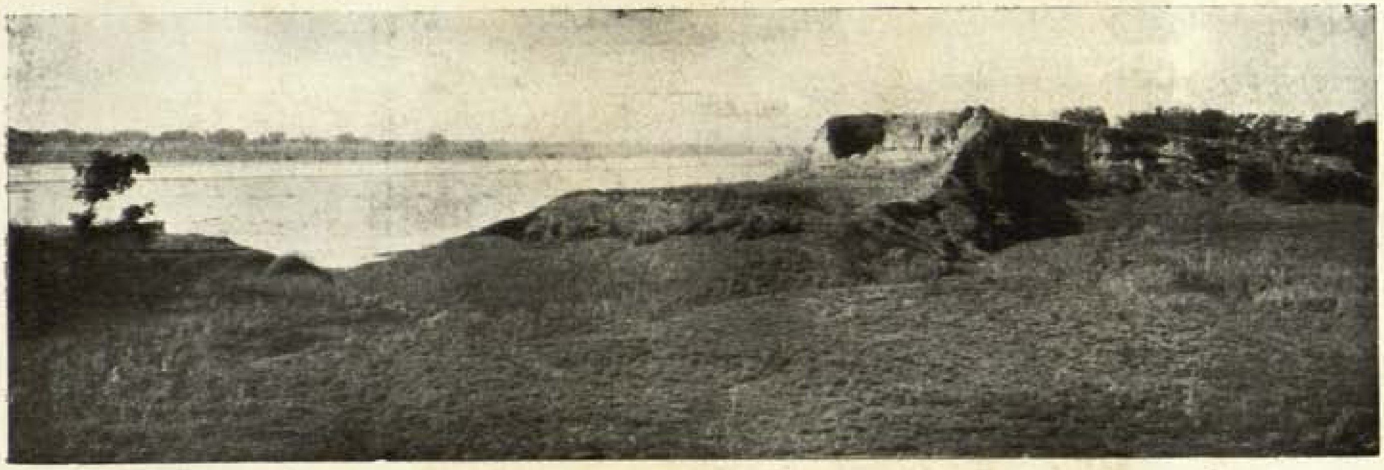
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Jīvaka **60**, 4
Kanauj **60**, 13
Kaṇṇagochchha **60**, 2
Kaṇṇakujja **60**, 4
Kapilapura **60**, 2
Ka-she-pu-lo **60**, 6
Kāśapura **60**, 6
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Kausurubindi **60**, 1
Kesakaḷāvana **60**, 18
Khāravela **60**, 12
Kiao-Shang-mi **60**, 3
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Kosam **60**, 7, 12
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Kurukshetra **60**, 8, 10
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Machchha-Sūrasena **60**, 8
Madhurā **60**, 2
Mākandikā **60**, 15
Māgandiyā **60**, 15
Mahājanapadas **60**, 8
Mahākachchāyana **60**, 19

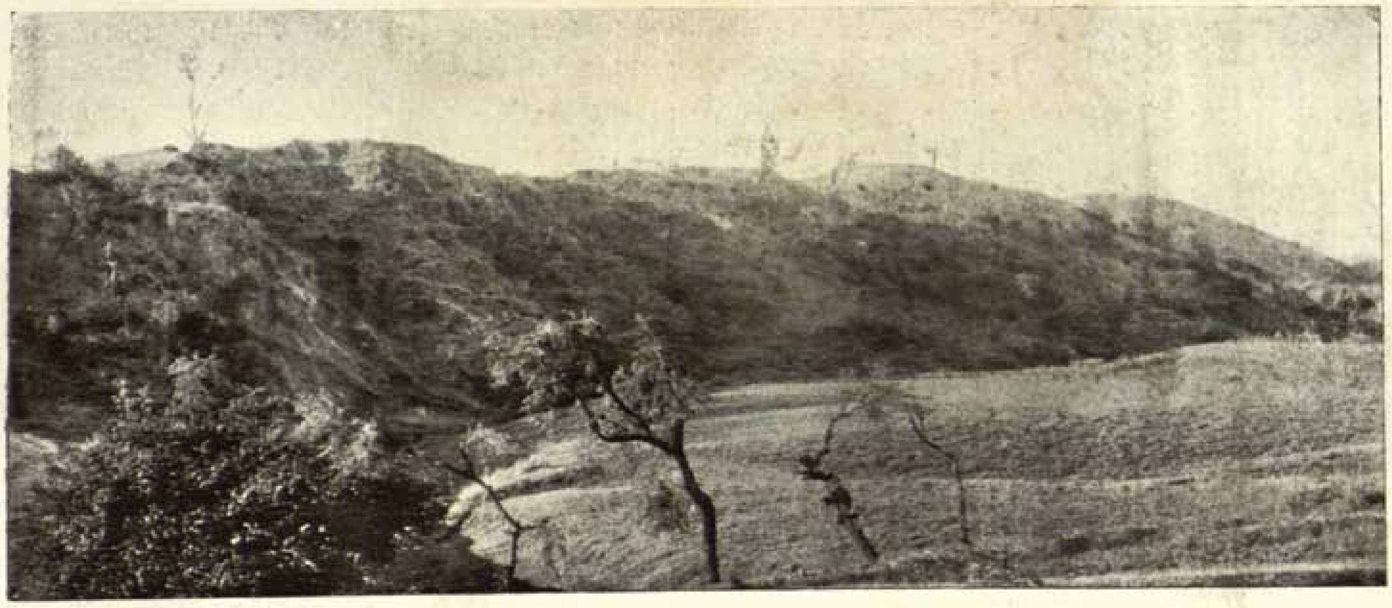
Mahāsammata . 60, 1
Mahodaya . 60, 2
Maṇḍissa . 60, 19
Mathurā . 60, 2, 12
Matsyas . 60, 8
Mithilā . 60, 2
Mṛigāvatī . 60, 14
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Nichakshu . 60, 1, 10
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Pāvārika . 60, 5
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Rājagaha . 60, 2, 4
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Revatimitra . 60, 12
Roja . 60, 2
Sāgarikā . 60, 15, 16
Sahajāti . 60, 4
Sāketa . 60, 4
Sāmā . 60, 19
Sāmāvatī . 60, 17
Sandaka . 60, 18
Saṅghārāma . 60, 20
Sankassa . 60, 4
Sāriputta . 60, 19
Śatānīka . 60, 10, 14
Satna . 60, 6
Savaśa-Uśīnareshu . 60, 8
Si-yu-ki . 60, 3, 6, 14
Soreyya . 60, 4
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Susena . 60, 10
Svapnavāsavadattā . 60, 12, 14
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Tāmalitti . 60, 2
Tissa . 60, 19
Trikaṇḍaśesha . 60, 3
Udaka . 60, 12, 13
Udayana . 60, 1, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 18
Uddālaka Āruṇi . 60, 1
Udumbara . 60, 4
Ujjenī . 60, 7, 11
Uparichara Vasu . 60, 1, 3
Upavāna . 60, 19
Uśīnaras . 60, 8
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Vachchhas . 60, 3
Vaidarbhī . 60, 1
Vaiśālī . 60, 11, 17
Vajiravutti . 60, 2
Vardhamāna Mahāvīra . 60, 20
Vāsavadattā . 60, 11, 15
Vasubandhu . 60, 20
Vāsuladattā . 60, 11, 15
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Vesāli . 60, 4
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Wei-shi-hen . 60, 20
Yāmadagni . 60, 15
Yamunā . 60, 4, 6, 7, 11, 17
Yaśapāla . 60, 3, 13
Yogāchārya-bhūmi-śāshtra . 60, 20
Yudhishṭhira . 60, 8

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THE SITE OF KAUŚĀMBĪ



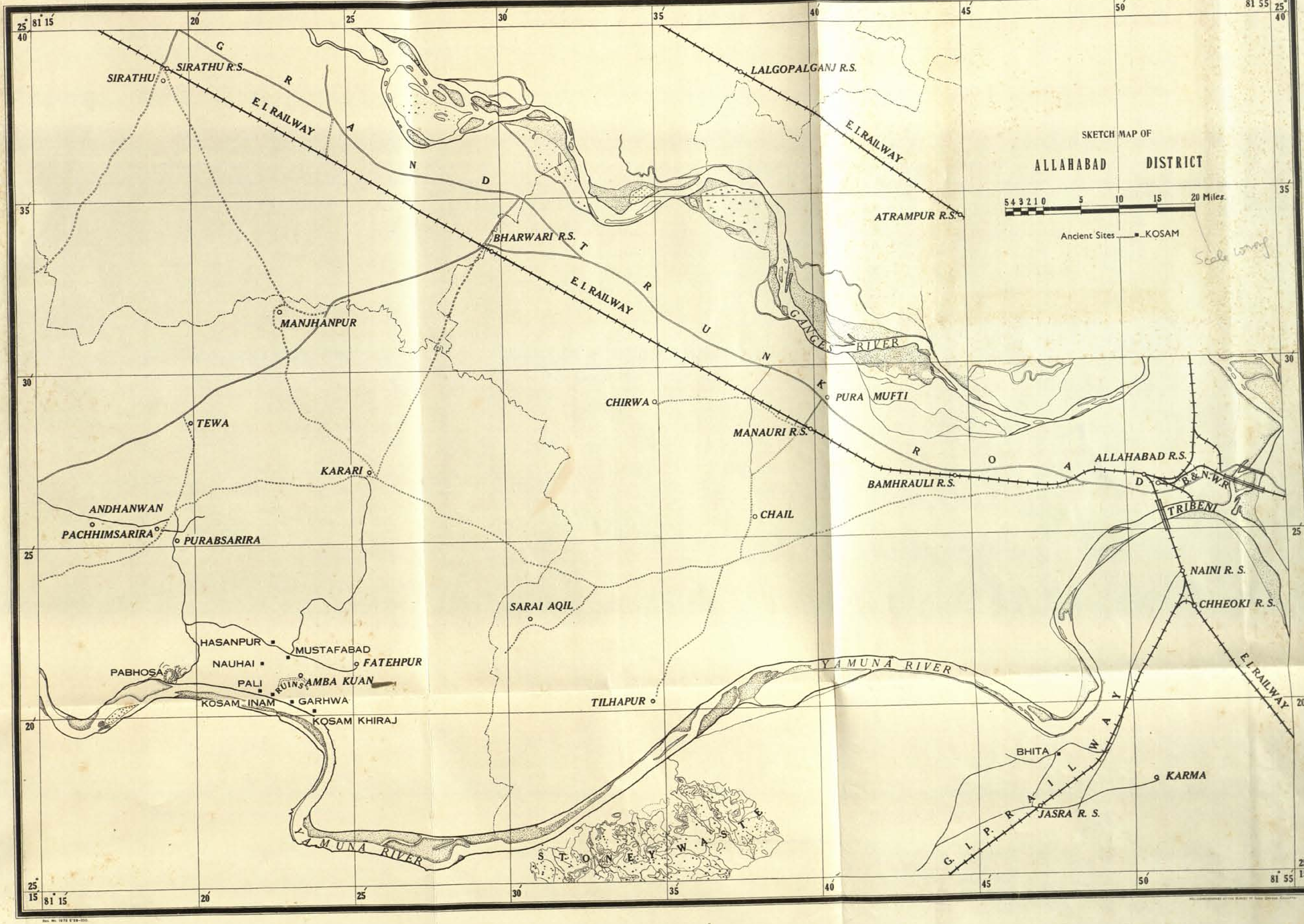
JUMNA BANK, KOSAM, FROM SOUTH-EAST



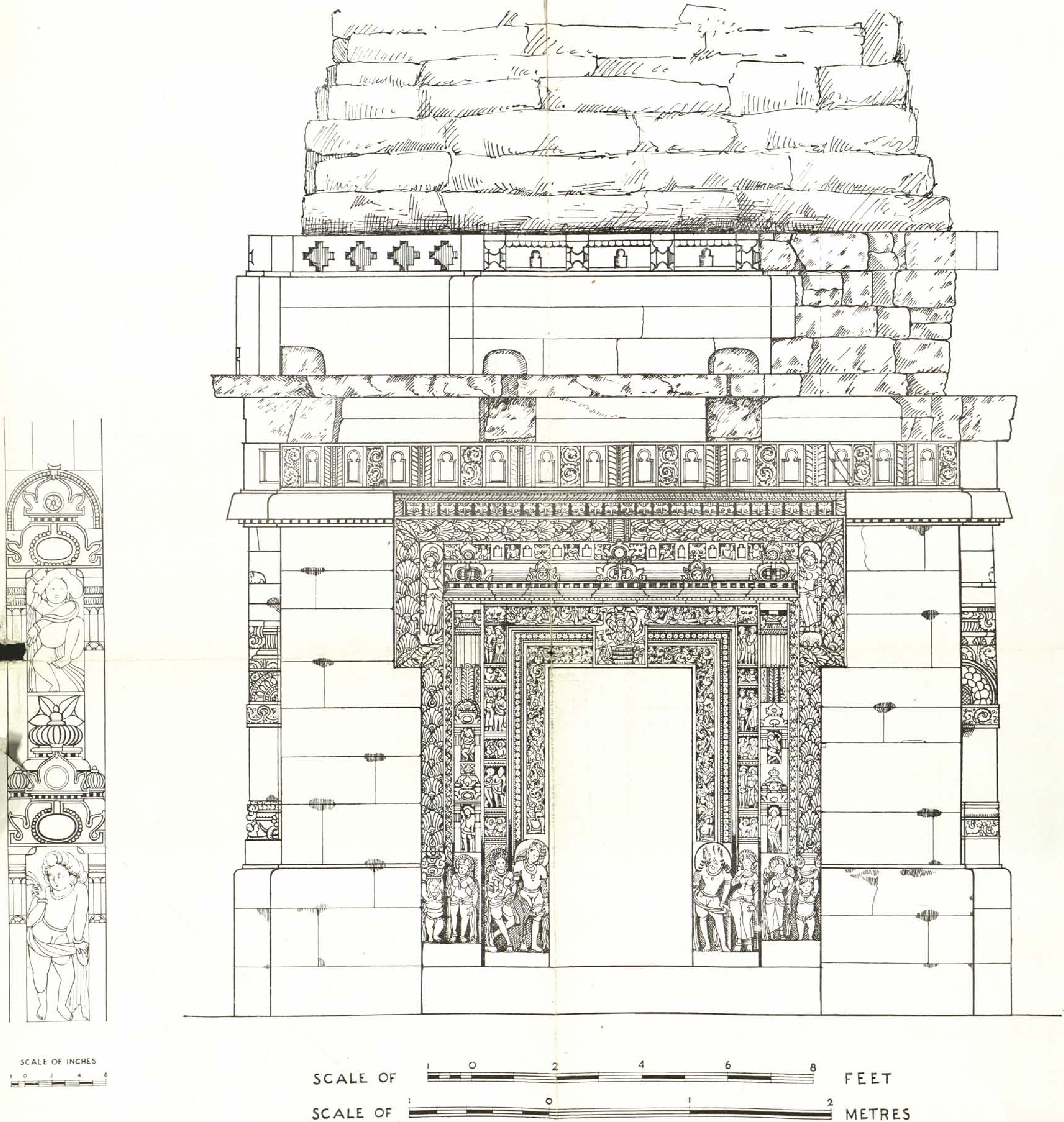
A PART OF THE RAMPART WALL OF KOSAM CITY FROM SOUTH-EAST




MOUNDS WITHIN KOSAM CITY, PARTIAL INTERIOR VIEW FROM NORTH



SKETCH MAP OF
ALLAHABAD DISTRICT
5 4 3 2 1 0 5 10 15 20 Miles.
Ancient Sites ■ KOSAM
GRAND TRUNK ROAD
E. I. RAILWAY
SIRATHU R.S.
SIRATHU
LALGOPALGANJ R.S.
ATRAMPUR R.S.
BHARWARI R.S.
MANJHANPUR
GANGES RIVER
PURA MUFTI
CHIRWA
MANAURI R.S.
TEWA
KARARI
BAMHRAULI R.S.
ALLAHABAD R.S.
B.& N.W.R.
TRIBENI
ANDHANWAN
PACHHIMSARIRA
PURABSARIRA
CHAIL
NAINI R. S.
CHHEOKI R. S.
SARAI AQIL
HASANPUR
MUSTAFABAD
NAUHAI
FATEHPUR
PABHOSA
PALI
RUINS
AMBA KUAN
KOSAM INAM
GARHWA
KOSAM KHIRAJ
TILHAPUR
YAMUNA RIVER
BHITA
KARMA
JASRA R. S.
G. I. P. RAILWAY
STONEY WASTE



Detail of front façade.



Isometric projection showing conjectural restoration of the temple from north-west.

N.C